463 possess tea and coffee estates of their own. The rising
197 generation are, to some extent, learning Tamil and English, in addition to their own language, which is said to resemble old Canarese. And I have heard a youthful Badaga, tending a flock of sheep, address an errant
871 member thereof in very fluent Billingsgate. There were,
• [877] in 1904–1905, thirty-nine Badaga schools, which were attended by 1,222 pupils. In 1907, one Badaga had passed the Matriculation of the Madras University, and was a clerk in the Sub-judge's Court at Ootacamund.

182 A newspaper discussion was carried on a few years ago as to the condition of the Badagas, and whether they are a down-trodden tribe, bankrupt and impoverished to such a degree that it is only a short time before something must be done to ameliorate their condition, and save them from extermination by inducing them to
(166) emigrate to the Wynād and Vizagapatam. A few have, in recent years, migrated to the Anaimalai hills, to work on the planters' estates, which have been opened up there. One writer stated that "the tiled houses, costing from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, certainly point to their pros-
426 perity. They may frequently borrow from the Labbai to enable them to build, but, as I do not know of a single case in which the Labbai has ever seized the house and sold it, I believe this debt is soon discharged.
241 The walled-in, terraced fields immediately around their villages, on which they grow their barley and other grains requiring rich cultivation, are well worked, and
527 regularly manured. The coats, good thick blankets, and gold ear-rings, which most Badagas now possess, can only, I think, point to their prosperity, while their constant feasts, and disinclination to work on Sundays, show that the loss of a few days' pay does not affect
181 them. On the other hand, a former Native official on

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reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalid fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1882; 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:ḍu in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

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578 795 divine prescripts. Badaga Lingayats who have opposed these marriages since about 1925 contend that because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from any caste the girls' families might originally have been in low or even polluting castes; yet once converted there is no means of checking their ancestry. Although these marriages are rare occurrences, the factional split they engendered has been marked by more violence than most: its culmination came one day in 1944 when a thousand or more Lingayat men waged battle with sticks and rocks until restrained by the police. For many years the two groups had not intermarried or dined together and had litigated against each other; after this fight the temples in the feuding village were sealed and festivals were only permitted under police surveillance, separate times being allotted for each side to use the temples. For over a decade this village maintained such a heated division that each faction had its own headman and council. The entire dispute was resolved around 1959, and members of the two factions now dine together and support a single headman and council. [7]

121 A factional dispute over unconventional marriages, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither community-wide nor confined to a single village: it is an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. The Christians are another interest group providing more recent examples.

578 877 In 1955 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Christian posed the same problem. Since this Association had always tacitly been a Hindu organization two factions emerged, one accepting Christian members, the other not. They celebrated their annual Day on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badaga remained in the University.

578 794 Another case concerned Christians alone. Two decades ago a majority of the Badagas and some Tamilians in a Christian village decided it was disrespectful for the minister to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they apparently reasoned from the fact that it would be grossly improper for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided, and those opposed to shoes in church would neither wear them there nor attend the service of a minister who wore shoes. The dispute later subsided and the two sides now interdine and talk

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Pl. 5

[following p. 248-E]

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Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbatti), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṭe:ri. The two-storey house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:tkuḷy).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranari hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

000 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

777 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

764 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

243 231 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṭkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

496 291 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṭe:ri.

778 782 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

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[p. 25]

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Badaga schoolgirls (1963)

[p. 120-C]

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

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A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

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In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

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Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk